

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2119

S E C R E T MADRID 4011

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BASES, SP

SUBJ: US-SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS

REF: MCCLOSKEY-STABLER TELECON

1. WHEN I LUNCHEDED ALONE WITH ROVIRA ON JUNE 9, I TOLD HIM THAT IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, THE SECRETARY AND CORTINA HAD AGREED ON A FORMULA TO FACILITATE THE CONCLUSION OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS. THE FORMULA, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, WAS THAT THE US WOULD MAKE A UNILATERAL PUBLIC DECLARATION WHICH WOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE THROUGH THE US FACILITIES ON SPANISH SOIL AND WOULD INDICATE THAT NATO AS SUCH FULLY RECOGNIZED AND VALUED THE SPANISH CONTRIBUTION. IT WOULD BE EXPECTED THAT SOME NATO COUNTRIES MIGHT PUBLICLY SUPPORT SUCH A UNILATERAL DECLARATION WHILE OTHERS (NOW OPPOSED TO THE FRANCO REGIME) WOULD REMAIN SILENT. THE OTHER PART OF THE FORMULA AGREED ON BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND CORTINA WAS THAT THE US WOULD ARRANGE WITH ITS ALLIES FOR SPANISH MILITARY LIAISON OFFICERS TO BE ASSIGNED TO CERTAIN NATO HEADQUARTERS, INCLUDING POSSIBLY BRUSSELS, NAPLES AND SACLANT.

2. ROVIRA SAID THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD

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OF ANY SUCH FORMULA. CORTINA HAD NOT MENTIONED IT EITHER

TO HIM OR TO THE SPANISH MILITARY WITH WHOM ROVIRA HAD MET LATE LAST WEEK. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD SPEAK TO CORTINA ABOUT IT AND CALL ME BACK.

3. ROVIRA DID CALL ME BACK ON JUNE 10 AND SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO CORTINA ABOUT THIS "FORMULA". CORTINA HAD INDICATED THAT SPAIN COULD NOT ACCEPT A UNILATERAL US DECLARATION, BUT RATHER DESIRED A DECLARATION WHICH WOULD HAVE MORE OF A NATO STAMP, THEREBY GIVING A GREATER DEGREE OF NATO RECOGNITION TO THE VALUE OF THE SPANISH CONTRIBUTION. WITH REGARD TO THE LIAISON OFFICERS, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE NATO COUNTRIES EXPLICITLY TO ACCEPT THE STATIONING OF THESE OFFICERS AT NATO HEAD-QUARTERS. ROVIRA WENT ON THAT CORTINA HAD AGAIN RE-HEARSED WITH HIM THAT IF NATO RECOGNITION, BOTH THROUGH THE DECLARATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF LIAISON OFFICERS, WAS NOT FORTHCOMING, THEN US FACILITIES WOULD NOT BE USED FOR NATO PURPOSES. ROVIRA COMMENTED THAT CORTINA SIMPLY DID NOT YET GRASP THE VIRTUAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF SEPARATING US FACILITIES USED IN THE CONTEXT OF US-SPANISH DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS FROM US FACILITIES USED IN THE NATO CONTEXT.

4. ROVIRA ALSO INDICATED THAT EVEN IF SOMETHING COULD BE ACHIEVED IN THE FORM OF A NATO STATEMENT AND THE STATIONING OF LIAISON OFFICERS, THERE WOULD STILL BE THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE BOTH WITH RESPECT TO THE QUID AND TO THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR FACILITIES TO WHICH THE US WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE ACCESS.

5. ROVIRA SAID HE HOPED THAT YOU WOULD BE ABLE TO ADDRESS AT YOUR MEETING STARTING ON JUNE 16 THE POSITION WHICH THE SPANISH OUTLINED TO YOU AT THE LAST DAY OF THE FIFTH ROUND. I TOLD HIM THAT THIS MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT A NEW ELEMENT HAD BEEN INJECTED INTO THE SITUATION AS A RESULT OF THE SECRETARY'S TALK WITH CORTINA.

6. ROVIRA SUGGESTED THAT I MIGHT PUT DOWN ON A PIECE OF PAPER OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE FORMULA AGREED ON BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND CORTINA AND THEN HE WOULD BE ABLE TO  
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GIVE ME A PIECE OF PAPER WITH CORTINA'S COMMENTS. THIS, OF COURSE, I HAVE NOT DONE, NOR DO I INTEND TO. HOWEVER, IF YOU BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL, I COULD ARRANGE TO SEE CORTINA THE END OF THIS WEEK TO TRY TO GET GREATER PRECISION FROM HIM ON HIS VIEW OF THIS "FORMULA". ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU MAY WANT TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION DIRECTLY WITH ROVIRA NEXT WEEK.

7. IT IS STILL MY CONCLUSION THAT EVEN IF A FORMULA  
SHOULD BE DEvised FOR SOME FORM OF SPANISH LINK WITH NATO,  
WE STILL WOULD BE FACED WITH HAVING TO NEGOTIATE THE EX-  
TENT OF THE QUID AND THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR FACILITIES. I  
BELIEVE THAT THE ANALYSIS THAT I DID FOR THE SECRETARY  
(MADRID 3581) STILL REMAINS VALID.  
STABLER

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